BRESLOW AND SMITHEMAN: **IS YOUTH LIBERAL?**

THE *Nation*

October 3, 1953

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The Citizen and the Free School

by Harold Taylor

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Germany's New "Drang" *Terence Prittie*

Automation and Jobs *John Diebold*

OCT 1 1953

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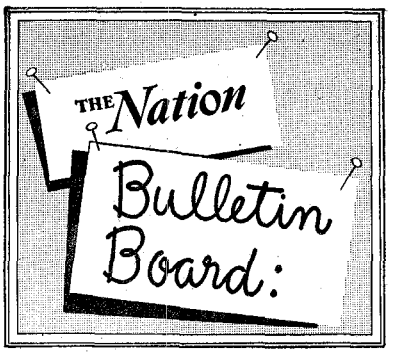

WORD from Baltimore, expected site of a new major-league baseball franchise—and home of H. L. Mencken—is that despite his illness, and seasonal difficulties with his hay fever, Mr. Mencken is "delighted" with the special birthday bouquet bestowed on him in our September 12 issue. Apropos of that issue, we thought Stanley Glaubach did an exceptionally fine job of drawing Mencken's portrait and then superimposing it upon a cover of the old *Smart Set*.

. . . A few weeks ago we ran a back-cover ad in the form of a prescription blank urging a steady dose of *The Nation* for "tired liberal friends" of our readers. The response has been wonderful. Scores of people have sent in subscriptions for their friends. It's still a good idea and you can still get in on it: just send us your friend's name and address and your own name—plus $3 to cover a very special forty-week trial subscription for that "tired liberal."

. . . At the invitation of the recently formed National Issues Committee I had a very pleasant luncheon the other day at New York's Hotel Commodore. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, head of the committee, stressed the intended objectivity and non-partisanship of the group. A stand would be taken only on issues and not, she emphasized, on candidates. After the luncheon I asked her whether the non-partisanship embraced Republicans. She laughed and said, "We've been trying to find a Republican to serve as co-chairman with me but so far we haven't found one willing to take on the job."

The committee intends to form local chapters throughout the country; those interested in further information should write to Don Pryor, Executive Director National Issues Committee, 1832 Jefferson Place, N. W., Washington.

. . . *Nation* contributor Harvey O'Connor (Why I Said No to Joe, September 26) will be in New York the night of October 22 to speak on his experiences before the McCarthy committee. The meeting, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will be held at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West Forty-eighth Street. The committee also plans to make reprints of O'Connor's *Nation* article available.

. . . "In the pages of *The Nation*," writes an Ann Arbor, Michigan, reader, "I have found answers to the many questions of today. I would like to thank you for helping to cut away some of the strong weeds of confusion, lies, deception, and failure to report on facts—all of which prevent any genuine effort to pass judgment on prevailing ideas and activities of mankind."

. . . This week I managed to get a look at some of the manuscripts slated for a second special civil-liberties issue late this fall. Judging by the material received so far, the second will be even more exciting than the first—How Free Is Free? published last year.

. . . Carey McWilliams, *Nation* editorial director, is scheduled to be the chief speaker at an important anti-discrimination conference to be held in October in Chicago, sponsored by the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers.

. . . Does Silence Mean Guilt? the definitive *Nation* article on the Fifth Amendment question, continues to be a best-seller; also The Strange Case of John T. Flynn. Copies of both are available at 10 cents apiece; $7.50 a hundred; $25 for 500; and $45 for 1,000. More than 40,000 copies of Does Silence Mean Guilt? have been distributed, and 15,000 of the article on Flynn. A noted educator who read the Flynn piece wrote us: "I chuckled gleefully when I read the article on Flynn. I don't recall the exact literary reference but I would say Mr. Flynn got his 'come-uppance.'" MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Olivier and the Beggar

Dear Sirs: In your September 12 issue your film reviewer describes "The Beggar's Opera" as "Nelson Eddy-type operetta—a dashing highwayman having fun holding up stagecoaches, escaping from jail, falling in love." Actually the work, written in 1728, is a biting satire on Italian opera, on Restoration comedy, and, most of all, on the morals of the times. A sensational dramatic success, "The Beggar's Opera" ranks with the satires of Swift as a landmark in sociological drama. It effectively exposed the corrupt political machine of Walpole and opened the way for all the many socially conscious artists to come. "The Beggar's Opera" is an important part of our cultural heritage. The music is that of ballads popular during the Restoration, set to new texts. Handel and Bach were familiar with, and used, some of these exciting tunes. The "half-intelligible lyrics" are well worth reading and can be found in the Modern Library Giant, "Famous Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century."

Berkeley, Cal. PHILIP K. DICK

Differs on Geismar

Dear Sirs: Perry Miller's review of "Rebels and Ancestors" by Maxwell Geismar [*The Nation*, September 12] makes one wonder about the assignment of a book dealing with writers *circa* 1900 to a scholar whose field of study is the seventeenth century.

And while Mr. Miller worries about trifles and fusses about dates, the opportunity to hail and promote an important and original work of the mind is lost. Reread, if you will, the two sentences on Glasgow. That is the way we used to review books in high school. And Mr. Miller disposes of the Dreiser essay in the same casual fashion. Talk about not seeing the forest for the trees! Here is one of the most brilliant and acute literary essays of the age, and the best Mr. Miller can find in it is "exciting evidence that Dreiser did indeed have a craft"—is the professor of American literature at Harvard just discovering this?—and the obvious fact that Dreiser clearly understood the fundamental change in the social and economic bases of American society in this century.

Mr. Miller's work in his own field is respected everywhere, but the piece he did for you on "Rebels and Ancestors" is mostly baloney.

Chicago, Ill. JACK POTTER

Generous Offer

Dear Sirs: We have been subscribing to *The Nation* for many years and have a great many back numbers of which we should like to dispose. Individuals or organizations interested can reach me at 531 East Lincoln Avenue, Mt. Vernon.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y. MRS. A. ISAAK

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Our Ally Franco

Our Paris correspondent writes: The signing of the Washington-Madrid treaty, though long expected, aroused profound resentment almost everywhere in Europe. The French press quoted widely the New York *Times* editorial which pointed out that Dictator Franco and the United States are now allies. The Moscow reaction, likely to be elaborated at the U. N., is that the treaty represents not only another obstacle to East-West understanding but a positive "war factor." Spanish Republicans, meeting in Bordeaux, attacked the agreement as a "betrayal of democracy" and vowed to continue their own fight against Franco to the end. There is no doubt that these freedom-loving Spaniards spoke the thoughts of the overwhelming majority of Europeans, West as well as East.

Victory for Whom?

Adenauer's victory has been hailed in Washington as a triumph for the "European idea." But in this issue Terence Prittie tells how the West Germans, through a mixture of hard work, modern merchandising, American aid, and sharp trading practices, are beginning to push their West European neighbors out of various world markets. Is *this* the "European idea"? Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's Minister of Economics, recently explained to the *Wall Street Journal* why he believes in free enterprise and the abandonment of international controls: "It is perfectly true that there are considerable differences [in wages, social conditions, taxation, etc.] between nations, and for some God himself is responsible. . . . It is therefore impossible to try to level everything." Is *this* the "European idea"? Or is it simply a German diplomat's way of saying that, so long as his country is ahead, why shouldn't the devil take the hindmost?

"Quietly and methodically," writes Edwin Hartrich in the New York *Herald Tribune,* "trade and industry in West Germany are returning to their traditional pre-war patterns of cartel and trust." Even Germany's aircraft manufacturers, who are not yet permitted to produce aircraft, have formed a cartel in preparation for *der Tag.* And in an especially astute commentary a New York *Times* correspondent recently pointed out that the more successfully the German trade drive develops, the more hopelessly behind will France be left, drained as Germany is not by armaments costs and the Indo-China war.

Are these the "European idea"? Or are they the inevitable and dangerous consequences of the American idea that only a strong Germany can save Europe? World War II was brought on by an alliance among Germany's industrial barons, the German army, and Hitler. The barons are already back; the army is coming; and who knows but that tomorrow's Hitler is already screaming against the Potsdam *Diktat* in some Bavarian beer cellar?

With Ham, an Egg

Martin P. Durkin's flat statement to the A. F. of L. delegates in St. Louis that President Eisenhower had personally reneged on his promise to back the Durkin-sponsored amendments to the Taft-Hartley act and the prompt White House denial that followed constitute a formal mutual severance of political relations. After Mr. Durkin's unhappy experience it is most unlikely that the Administration could now, even if it wished, obtain token labor representation. And any notion it may have entertained of maintaining liaison with labor through a "third" federation has been jettisoned by the Carpenters' reentry into the A. F. of L. after a brief exit.

But there is much evidence to support the view that the Administration does not want to be embarrassed by the slightest tie with labor. Vice-President Nixon was certainly a strange emissary to send to St. Louis if the President had really wanted to placate the unions. "With ham," one Republican delegate told reporters for the *Wall Street Journal,* "you got to have an egg. He laid it." The President's message, moreover, was not conciliatory; it was intended to announce a shift in his position on Taft-Hartley, which he indorsed in the strongest language he has yet used.

Motion in the Labor Movement

The St. Louis convention was remarkable also for the new sense of vigor and independence conveyed by Mr. Meany's keynote speech. The Eisenhower Administration was charged with running the government in the interests of "the greedy few," and the cosy intimacy of its

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relations with the N. A. M. was sharply criticized. The corrupt and racket-ridden I. L. A. was ousted by the nearly unanimous vote of 72,362 to 765—the first international union to be expelled for corruption in the history of the federation. Even more important was Mr. Meany's blunt criticism of Chancellor Adenauer's plan for a new labor "front" in West Germany. It has been a long time since an official spokesman for the federation has denounced a consequence of American foreign policy in such terms. Clearly, the labor movement is now in motion, but has it started to move in time? The latest Gallup Poll indicates that three of every four voters—in a sampling which obviously includes many members of the A. F. of L.—feel that the Eisenhower Administration cannot be charged with favoring one group more than any other!

Incidentally other readers of the New York *Times* must have been puzzled, as we were, to read in A. H. Raskin's account of the convention that the delegates "roared their appreciation" of Mr. Meany's jibes at the N. A. M., and then to learn from an editorial in the same issue that this applause greeted his reference to the federation's internal problems. Query: do *Times* editorial writers read what their reporters are saying in the news columns?

How to Stop the Demagogues

The struggle to determine the limits of the Congressional power of inquiry is being edged along, slowly and painfully but with remarkable persistence and courage. In the last few years the relevance of the Fifth Amendment has been established in the courts. But those who invoke its protection are by this fact precluded from testing such limits, nor does the amendment protect the individual against the savage reprisals of private groups. Now, for the first time since 1947, the struggle is centering on the meaning of the guaranties embodied in the First Amendment. Harvey O'Connor and Leo Huberman tendered the first clear-cut challenge on this score. More recently Corliss Lamont has carried the fight a step farther by maintaining, first that the committees cannot inquire into the personal affairs of private citizens and, second, that the committees are usurping the judicial power. This is essentially the position outlined by Philip Wittenberg, who appeared as counsel for Mr. Lamont, in an article in *The Nation* of May 9 (How to Stop the Demagogues). By not invoking the Fifth Amendment these men have challenged the power of the committees in a manner that makes court tests possible. This is the way to proceed. The power of inquiry must continue to be challenged from as many different standpoints as possible until the courts are finally forced to reassert the supremacy of the Constitution over the whims and biases of committee chairmen.

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The "Grave" Italian Strike

Though only a demonstration and a warning, last week's strike in Italy was considered by the Italian government a "grave event." Its gravity lay in the fact that the three great labor federations formed a common front. The C. G. I. L., closely connected with the Communist Party and Nenni's left Socialists, the C. I. S. L. of Christian Democratic inspiration, and the U. I. L., backed by the right-wing Socialists and Republicans, united in the demand for higher wages and greater respect for the labor movement.

Impressed by these facts and by the overwhelming response of the workers, Prime Minister Pella tried to mediate, sounding the note of "neutrality" as between the employers and workers. Since the movement was not openly "political," the government could, without losing face, appeal to both sides in behalf of the national interest. But nobody is deceived by such subtleties. What is happening in Europe is that the workers no longer react to the slogans that have kept them passive during the cold-war years. When Catholic Action tried to tell the Christian Democratic workers that by marching with the Communist and Socialist unions they were making themselves tools of Moscow, they replied: "Please convince the employers that by refusing us a decent living they are doing the same thing."

Diplomacy on the Turn

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE United States has become adept at winning diplomatic successes that turn sour before they can be swallowed and digested. The past week brought new support for this theory both in and out of the United Nations, although the big press continued to talk as if American diplomacy were rich in political vitamins even if foreigners continued to gag it down with difficulty. The most unpalatable of all our recent victories—the exclusion of India and other Asian nations from the Korean political conference—still stalemates the General Assembly, and it begins to look as if the conference might not take place at all. If this should happen, it would doubtless be popularly blamed on the Russians, but sober witnesses would agree that the original cause lay in the American-made restrictions on the conference. True enough, our Western friends who opposed the formula of exclusion until opposition seemed likely to demolish the U. N. front have resisted Vishinsky's demand during the present Assembly that the issue be re-debated and that India, Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia be invited—along with the Soviet Union—to join the conference as "neutrals." This has been represented as a sign that American dominance is firmly established. But several other developments, beginning with Mr. Dulles's opening speech, indicate a rather different state of affairs.

Why did Mr. Dulles assume the role of conciliator, suddenly and in sharp contrast with his speech a few days earlier, urging politeness and moderation? Why did the usually belligerent Mr. Lodge, though opposing the Vishinsky resolution, suggest that if the other side desired the excluded neutrals might be invited to join the political conference by the conference itself when it met—a concession that seemed to rob the original American stand of meaning? Why did the British delegate, Selwyn Lloyd, and Lester Pearson, Canadian Minister of External Affairs, propose the unification of Korea, neutralized under strict international guaranties? The answer to these questions is not that we have a Washington "peace offensive" aimed at the East but rather a recognition that our Allies would have to be appeased if the Western alliance was not to crumble. Mr. Dulles and Mr. Lodge were talking to London and Paris and Ottawa, and the other Western diplomats were publicly fixing the limits of their acquiescence in American "toughness."

HAD Mr. Vishinsky exploited this series of revealing maneuvers with more skill and flexibility he might have forced the United States either to offer concessions far beyond anything contemplated in August or to expose its conciliatory gestures as empty of meaning. That he stuck so close to his own unacceptable proposal to reopen debate on the composition of the conference was Washington's good fortune. But it is likely to be a temporary reprieve. The Administration is being edged inexorably toward decisions which affect most sensitive political areas. For example, the idea of a united Korea neutralized by international agreement has already been turned down by our intransigent ally, Syngman Rhee, who not unnaturally preferred the alternative we offered him—an indefinite commitment by the United States to defend the South Korean Republic in case Korea remains divided. Nor is the idea likely to appeal to President Rhee's supporters in the Republican Party. In fact, there is so much political dynamite in this proposal that Moscow and Peking, little as they might like it themselves, would be wise if they held their fire and let the Asia-firsters and Mr. Rhee do the shooting for them. This opening, together with the continued ill-feeling over American disregard of Asia's role in an Asia settlement, offer Moscow new chances to regain whatever degree of initiative it has lost during the Assembly. For Washington is caught in a very genuine and awkward dilemma. It must yield some of the ground gained through its diplomatic victories in order to placate and reassure our most valued Allies. But it cannot make any basic concessions to Moscow and Peking unless it is ready to invite the full fury of its own right wing, in Congress and in the country. And of such inclination we see no sign whatsoever.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Indo-China and the E. D. C.

Paris

ON MY return to Paris from Geneva I discovered that people were more disturbed by the results of the German elections than the early statements of politicians and press and radio commentators had indicated. Even the members of the Cabinet are worried by the prospect of having to deal with a Germany which besides being supported by Washington is so strong in its own right. There was a stormy debate when the Cabinet met to draw up instructions for the French delegates to the conference of the European Defense Community, which opened at Rome on September 22. Advocates of the E. D. C. argued that unless the new German divisions were integrated with the troops of other nations in the European army, where they could offer no threat to Western Europe, they would form the nucleus of a revived Wehrmacht no different from the old German army which had three times invaded France. They therefore favored speedy ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements by the French Parliament. Opponents of the agreements contended that the European community should be a political reality before an army was authorized.

The position of the first group was weakened by the overwhelming extent of Dr. Adenauer's victory, which gives the German Chancellor such dominance in Europe that the difference between a European army containing German divisions and a German army is almost erased. Since September 6 no one attempts to deny that "Little" Europe will be directed by Germany. And of course the advantage that the elections gave Adenauer will be vigorously pushed by the United States.

Germany's dominance in all fields—political, industrial, military, and diplomatic—is now indisputable. With 337 of the 487 deputies in the new Bundestag supporting him, Adenauer is politically in an infinitely better position than any M. Laniel or Signor Pella, who every time an important issue comes up must consider how he can gather enough votes to avoid being turned out of office. Industrially Germany is expanding at a fantastic rate. The new German divisions are not yet officially in existence, but such thorough preparations for recruiting and equipping them have been made by former German officers in collaboration with American officers—little has been said about these activities—that other members of the Defense Community will find it difficult to contribute troops of comparable effectiveness. Finally, Germany is supreme in the diplomatic sphere because Bonn's point of view coincides more closely with Washington's than does that of any other Western government. On the day after his victory Dr. Adenauer used Secretary Dulles's very words when he spoke of "liberating" the Germans now under Soviet rule. Of course he insisted that liberation must be accomplished by peaceful means, but this diplomatic restraint seemed unconvincing in the present international situation; we have reached a point where what matters is the substance, not the form.

Observers at the United Nations session in New York may have been relieved to hear Mr. Dulles adopt a moderate tone in his speech of September 18, but in Paris the contrast with the belligerence of his speech before the American Legion was less perceptible, and it is doubted here that the conditions he laid down can serve as the basis for any negotiating with the Russians. He again demanded that Moscow prove its desire for peace by accepting the American position on every major issue—on Germany and on Austria, on Korea and on Southeast Asia. Dr. Adenauer was equally unrealistic. In saying that only moral force must be used to recover Germany's lost eastern provinces, he was taking care not to let his attitude be confused with that of the neo-Nazis, but his policy would lead just as fatally to war with Russia if Germany were a member of the Atlantic coalition and its divisions were the core of the European army.

That is the chief reason why so many people in France are against the European Defense Community. They want neither to see the Germany of Bismarck revived nor to be tied to an anti-Russian policy on which Washington and Bonn would have the final say and which might eventuate in war.

THE FRENCH believe that time is on their side. They have managed to put off the debate on the ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties until after the presidential election, that is, until 1954. By that time, they hope, a meeting of the Big Four will have provided an alternative. Washington insists, however, that there must be no more delay about the European army. It is enabled to exert pressure on France by the critical situation in Indo-China and the shakiness of the successive rightist governments in France as revealed by the strikes of last August. Aid for Indo-China is the ideal piece to exchange for ratification of the treaties. The aid was pledged in advance so that the bargain would not be too obvious. The connection between the $385,000,000 for the Indo-Chinese war and the pressure on France to ratify the treaties creating a European army has been recognized by others than the French opponents of the E. D. C. The well-informed *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* declared bluntly that the dollars for Indo-China were the "price of ratification."

But though Laniel and his Cabinet have been won over, there is still considerable opposition to the European army in the French Assembly. The group formerly organized as Gaullists are against it, as is the Socialist group led by Jules Moch. And at the recent congress of the Radical Socialist Party at Aix-les-Bains former Premier Daladier denounced it with a vehemence he seldom displays except in defense of a popular cause. But it was Edouard Herriot himself, at the same conference, who voiced the feelings of most Frenchmen. "I do not want," he said, "to see the Gestapo and the S. S. again."

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CITIZEN AND SCHOOL

Freedom for Teachers . . . *by Harold Taylor*

THERE are many of us in this country who are honestly, and with good reason, disturbed by the attacks on freedom in education. We are disturbed by our government's exercise of its authority to restrict the intellectual life of private citizens and public officials. I am not referring to the legal and practical inhibitions placed on the activities of the Communist Party and its present members. That is a separate question. We are disturbed by evidence of a failure in the democratic process, the process by which ideas are given a free chance to circulate and be judged on their merits and citizens are given a free chance to say what they think and to associate with whom they wish without losing their public reputation and their jobs.

Dozens of writers, government employees, and teachers in the most distinguished colleges and universities of the country are called before Congressional investigating committees to answer questions about their political beliefs, opinions, and affiliations. Here are not simply threats to freedom. Here are acts committed against freedom by a government which is dedicated to the protection of the rights of the individual. There is no use in explaining away these acts as merely those of timid government officials and a few irresponsible Representatives and Senators. They are authoritarian acts, carried out under the auspices of the United States government. Nor are such acts to be excused by saying that in Communist and fascist countries things are very much worse.

Elmer Davis, in a speech delivered at Vassar College earlier in the year, said this about the investigating committees: "The excuse of these gentlemen—or at least their pretext—is that they are fighting communism. Some of them, no doubt sincere, are pretty foggy as to what communism is; but others know exactly what they are doing, and they are not after Communists at all; they spice their investigations with a real Communist now and then to disguise the flavor of an attack on—well, 'liberal' and 'progressive' are both words that have been discredited by some of the people who claim those titles, but we know what they used to mean, and that is what some of these inquisitors are after. They are after people who think, and whose thinking does not always agree with theirs, if what they do can be called thinking."

WHAT ARE the rights of the scholar and teacher in a free society? What protection for his freedom does the teacher have a right to expect from his government and his society? In my experience, no good teacher has ever claimed the right to engage in subversive activities, although he has reserved the right to define carefully the meaning of subversion. I do not think that a teacher has any more rights than any other citizen, and the general public agrees with me. Everybody tells us that we who are teachers and educators have no more rights than anyone else. But they are very heavy on our obligations, which include answering when spoken to, minding our own business, expressing admiration for all Senators and Representatives, staying out of politics, working cheerfully for low pay, condemning communism, being brave and outspoken, arousing the moral enthusiasm of American youth, providing them with spiritual values, teaching them to love their country and their parents, all under the happy stimulation of the sneers, threats, insults, and attacks of assorted bullies, politicians, neurotics, the intellectually deprived, and the common scolds.

The danger in the current attitude of the public toward teachers and investigations is that the contribution of the intellectual may be lost to our society. When the Congressional committees call witnesses before them, people think that a person who has nothing to conceal cannot possibly be damaged. But only those who have said something or written something or done something, or have a point of view about politics or life itself, can provide anything for the investigators to investigate. Again I am referring not to Communist Party members active in conspiracy, subversion, or espionage; I am referring to teachers, scholars, and writers who have engaged in legitimate political activity in legal organizations of their choice.

No person has a *right* to belong to a college faculty unless (a) there is a need for his particular services in a particular college; (b) he is a good teacher who can communicate to his students what he knows without damaging the knowledge in the process; and (c) he commands the respect and confidence of duly accredited faculty bodies and college administrators whose business it is to judge merit and integrity in teachers. But the most important thing about faculty members is that they are human beings who are expected to be a little better than the ordinary human being, especially in the matter of moral virtue and in sustaining two or more ideas in their heads simultaneously without losing track of any of them. Like everyone else they are sometimes wrong. They may mistake a partial truth for a whole truth, a political theory for a political fact, but they are subject to the corrections of self-criticism, one of the basic skills of their profession. I believe that they have a right to be treated not with suspicion but with respect and public affection.

WHETHER or not teachers should be forced to tell Congressional committees if they have ever been members of the Communist Party, and whether or not an individual should seek the protection of the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination are complicated legal and moral questions on which there is a great deal of honest disagreement. The Fifth Amendment was added to the Constitution in order to protect the innocent and

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HAROLD TAYLOR is president of Sarah Lawrence College.

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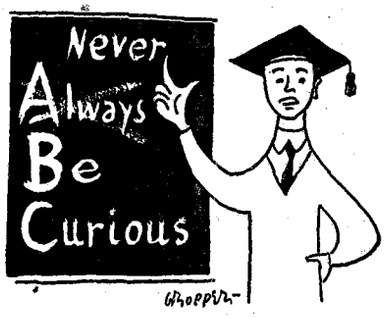
not to encourage the guilty. No doubt a few of those who plead the Fifth Amendment are members of the Communist Party. But while it may be possible for some Communists to hide be-



hind it this does not mean that everyone who pleads it is a Communist.

The real confusion is caused by the fact that the committees never state what guilt is charged to the witness. Instead, they imply political crime and subversion by their questions. The witness with a political past which has involved association with Communists or the Communist Party is likely to be damaged in his present career if this is publicized. He would prefer to be misunderstood by his silence than by his answers to loaded questions.

One fact, however, is very clear. Boards of trustees and educational administrators must make up their own minds in judging the qualifications of those whom they have appointed to teach, and must apply the standards of honesty, sincerity, and probity which are applicable to all scholars, regardless of the publicity given to their testimony before Congressional committees. If a school or college finds that any individual on its faculty has allowed political motives or affiliations to corrupt his conduct as a scholar and a teacher, it has the responsibility of dismissing or otherwise disciplining the offending person.

In this matter I cannot help being concerned over the faint support that has been given to unfriendly witnesses by their government agencies or colleges these past few months—even witnesses not accused of being Communists. In some cases the colleges have ordered the teachers beforehand to heed the committee's commands or face immediate dismissal. What effect can this have, not merely on the teachers summoned for public hearings, but on the rest of the college community—that body of scholars who are being exhorted by their presidents to be fearless, to think freely, to speak out, and that generation of college students criticized daily as the silent generation who care more for security than for the risks of intellectual adventure? Why shouldn't they care for security? They are taught to be silent by the example of those responsible for their educational development. Is education in this democratic country designed to teach the young to obey authority? I think not. That is what deprived the German youth of their independence and gave them Nazism. American education is designed to teach the young to be free, to accept no authority except that which is founded on reason, respect for the human mind, constitutional law, justice, and the ideals of liberalism.

Without the lusty independence of teachers who have self-confidence enough to defy orthodoxies and to condemn any abuse of government authority, there is no center for the democratic defense of democracy. If we find uncertainty and anxiety at the core of our intellectual life, in our colleges and universities, we look in vain for other centers of creative thought and energy. Education itself is a protest against the invasion of the mind by political power. It is the cutting edge of reason against the chains of political control. It does and should furnish a threat to authoritarian minds. This is the very reason why authoritarian societies control their artists and their educators by investigations and political reprisals.

AT AN EASTERN university during the present year two members of a college faculty were dismissed because they refused to answer questions of the Un-American Activities Committee. They had reported to their president and faculty colleagues that they had never belonged to the Communist Party. They satisfied the president and a special committee of the faculty that their loyalty was sound, their teaching ability good. The president said plainly that these were good men; one of them he recommended in glowing terms for a post on the faculty of another college and for a post with a major educational foundation. Yet they were dismissed. The university's action was not only a breach of faith with two of its teachers and a blow to the independence of the rest of the faculty; it diminished the quality of the education provided to students. Over three hundred of them in one part of the university signed petitions asking the trustees and president to reconsider their decision. But many more students refused to sign because "they did not want to get into trouble . . . and they could not be sure of who would see their names." A student wrote in a student magazine: "The most revealing aspects of the affair was not the large group which was strongly against the dismissal action but the many others who were afraid to take a stand with which they privately agreed. . . . The potential leaders of society have been silenced."

I do not underestimate the size and danger of our international conflict with the Soviet Union. Nor do I underestimate the potential or actual power of the Communist movement to subvert democratic institutions. But in the United States in 1953 I would like to remind Americans that of the 60,000,000 votes cast in the last election barely 200,000 were for any candidates or parties that could properly be labeled left-wing. I would point out that according to the latest F. B. I. estimates there are approximately 30,000 members of the Communist Party in a population of 160,000,000 and that the political influence of the party is such as to handicap any candidate or any issue to which it gives public or private support. Any person working in the movies, radio, or television who has breathed a hint of approval of the Communist Party or the Soviet Union at any time during the past twenty-five years is either dismissed from his job or suspected of subversion.

The entire range of public officials, labor leaders, educators, business men, and state legislators are actively opposing communism. A teacher who argues in favor of Soviet policies or indicates a sympathy for communism to his students, his colleagues, or the general public is vividly outlined against the academic sky as a target for attack. With the whole country so prepared and so on guard through every part of its institutional life, and with educators, parents, and students so acutely sensitive to the danger of Communist indoctrination, I do not believe that, short of closing down the colleges altogether, very much more can be done in a negative way to

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prevent the indoctrination of college students with communism.

The most recent survey we have of the politics of college graduates covered those who were in college when there was much less anti-Communist sentiment in the country than now. The largest group, 38 per cent, were Republicans; 35 per cent were independents; 26 per cent were Democrats, and one-half of 1 per cent were in all the other parties combined, including the Communist, Farmer Labor, Socialist, Prohibition, Liberal, and others. It is a fact that when college students have a chance to learn, to listen, to think and talk freely, they will come across ideas which are more daring than those of their parents and the general public. But the possibility of students being corrupted or rendered disloyal to their country by such freedom is remote. As the student council of a college put it recently, "It is only when the freedom to express beliefs is limited that the danger of indoctrination is present."

THE CONSTANT fear that the political integrity of students will be corrupted seems to me to indicate a faithless attitude toward the American student. Are our students and their teachers so naive, so unsure of their belief in democracy and in America, so ignorant, so easily persuaded, so likely to be fooled that we must protect them from all contact with the real issues and controversies of contemporary life, from the ideas and values of an opposing philosophy? The moral tone of the American student body is sound. It is capable of mature political behavior. The present anxiety reveals ignorance of the facts.

What is the antidote to all this? I believe I will be forgiven if I say, more education and more support of education. The attacks on freedom in education can only succeed when false statements and false principles are believed by the public, and when those responsible for education yield to pressure. McCarthyism would disintegrate tomorrow if people looked at the facts.

But there are at least three kinds of attack. Perhaps the least damaging kind is that from journalists and commentators with a rigid view of life who argue that education should be controlled by political authority and should teach religious, political, social, and economic doctrines prescribed by the church and state or by themselves. The reason this is not particularly damaging is that the tradition of the country is so thoroughly against the imposition of a single doctrine, and the argument breaks down when confronted with the question of which church or state doctrine should be imposed. The defense is to support with strength the educational program of one's choice and let the dogmatists wrestle with each other.

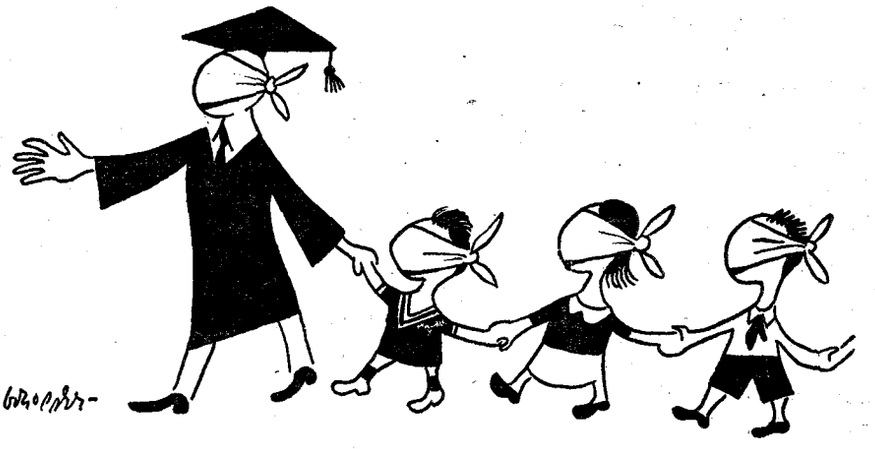
The second kind is much more dangerous because it works by publicity and distortion to undermine public confidence in teachers and students. Its standard technique is to accuse school principals, teachers, and institutions of subversion in public charges unsupported by fact. The antidote is a healthy relationship between the school or college and its surrounding community, with full knowledge on the part of trustees, alumni, parents, and neighbors of the nature of the charges and the actual situation inside the colleges.

The third attack is the most serious. It has to do with the Constitution and our belief in it. The American educational system is protected from political control by the existence of boards of education and boards of trustees or regents. Their function is to insure that democratic means of deciding educational policies are in full operation. We are coming dangerously close to direct political control of the schools and colleges when state legislatures or federal bodies can secure the dismissal of individual teachers on political grounds by dealing, not with the authorities responsible for appointment and dismissal, but with the teachers themselves, the books they write, and the ideas they profess.

Who, then, has the authority to control the principles and everyday practices of the American educational system? There is no single authority. The authority rests, in varying degree, in the hands of teachers, boards of education, principals, school superintendents, college presidents, parents, alumni, boards of trustees, and the voting population. It is centered in the membership of boards of trustees and boards of education, which are chartered by the state. These appoint the administrative officers, who in turn appoint the teachers. As soon as the state or federal government has authority to decide who should teach, what should be taught, and what should be read, the state controls the politics of American youth.

We need no explanation or defense of the arts; all we need do is practice them and enjoy their benefits. The process of creating a poem, a play, a painting, a book, or a mature and independent college student is a discipline imposed not from without but from within, and it need answer to no one for its final form. The art of teaching draws upon the finest human qualities there are—sensitivity, sympathy, imagination, understanding—and it raises the level of human consciousness by its presence in our culture.

There is a community responsibility. When the censors come, drive them away; when the dead weight of convention sits on new work and ideas, push it off; when good teachers, writers, and books are accused of causing harm, speak out for the freedom they need. In protecting and cherishing the arts, the artists, and the teachers, the citizen is protecting his country and the welfare of mankind.



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IS YOUTH LIBERAL?

[*The young generation, often referred to as the "silent generation," sometimes does speak. Here are accounts of three recent youth meetings. Mr. Breslow, who covered those at Ohio State and Ann Arbor, is a student at the University of Chicago. Mr. Smitheman, who describes the Philadelphia meeting, is a former instructor at Iowa State University.*]

BY PAUL E. BRESLOW

Ann Arbor, Mich.

THE Middle West has been the scene of two important national youth assemblies during the last few weeks. The first was at Ohio State University at Columbus, where students from 300 colleges and universities convened during the last week in August for the sixth annual National Student Congress, policy-making body of the United States National Students Association, the largest and probably the most representative student organization in the country.

In a provocative keynote speech William Birenbaum, director of student activities at the University of Chicago and chairman of the N. S. A.'s National Advisory Council, challenged the organization to live up to its slogan "strengthening the Forces of Freedom"—forces which "the American Legion, the Association of American Universities, President Eisenhower, and Gene Autry together have been unable to strengthen enough."

In the ensuing discussion the agenda items which aroused greatest interest were discrimination, academic freedom, and international affairs. Unanimous approval was given a resolution which stated that "all citizens of the United States are entitled to attend any institution of higher education in any of the forty-eight states." Another resolution called for the elimination of discrimination in all campus organizations. The most eloquent supporter of the anti-discrimination resolutions was the president of student government at the University of Missouri, a border-state institution.

Academic freedom proved a more vexing problem. For one thing, the N. S. A. delegates had to face the fact that their own organization, despite the presence of Harold Stassen on their National Advisory Council, has been attacked as "leftist." Most active among N. S. A.'s accusers has been the Students for America, a small McCarthy-like group known formerly as Students for MacArthur. Some delegates felt that only the adoption of a more aggressively anti-Communist stand and a more "cautious" approach to minority causes could disarm the attackers. But Richard Murphy, N. S. A.'s president for 1952-53, probably expressed the feelings of most delegates when, citing Representative Velde's "clearance" of their organization, he said: "We have people in the association who believe in freedom. To some this makes them subversive. We are glad to have them."

A number of students described violations of academic freedom on their own campuses: a Californian discussed the "spy system" and the operation of the loyalty oath in his state; a University of Minnesota student told of the Wiggins case; a Temple student told of Barrows Dunham and the Jenner committee. Harvard, Chicago, and Temple delegates described student protests of varying magnitude occasioned by the visits of Congressional committees.

The reaction to these stories was mixed. Some assumed that no one was victimized except Communists. A Fordham delegate asked: Since schools owe allegiance to the state, the church, and the family, should we not root out of the educational system those whose dissent threatens our basic institutions? Delegates from Wisconsin and California, in sharp rejoinder, suggested that the adoption of such a view would be more disastrous to the American educational system than the existence of a few "subversives" in the schools.

In the end no action was taken, which meant that the N. S. A. retained a policy on academic freedom identical with that of the American Association of University Professors.

A resolution for a student-exchange program with Eastern Europe and China was defeated by only five votes. Reaction to speeches on foreign problems by Ben C. Limb, South Korean ambassador, and Stringfellow Barr revealed a lack of information and sometimes of concern. But the McCarran immigration act and State Department passport restrictions were condemned by the plenary session.

"The World We Want" was the subject of the United States Assembly of Youth which met at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor from September 3 to 8 under the sponsorship of the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly. More than 300 young men and women, recruited through community groups, unions, and member organizations of the Young Adult Council, participated as individuals rather than as organizational representatives. Debate was informal, and there were no resolutions. Among the invited speakers were Governor Williams, Walter Reuther, Mordecai Johnson, and Henry Steele Commager.

As at the N. S. A. conference McCarthyism was subjected to repeated attack. Commissions on foreign policy, human rights, and the American heritage, acting separately, found it necessary to deal with what one report called "the deadly pressure toward thought-control and conformity." The leadership of the Young Adult Council was criticized by members of the human-rights commission and by others for having refused to admit to the assembly representatives of Communist and fascist groups. "Why," a participant asked, "do we assume that these people will convince us, rather than vice versa?"

With the aid of specialists from such organizations as the N. A. A. C. P. and the Anti-Defamation League, the assembly discussed practical methods for combating discrimination. Government protection of civil rights and liberties was considered essential. One commission reported that "everyone has the right to work, and private industry and government have the responsibility to see that jobs are available." The foreign-policy commission stated: "War is not inevitable . . . a more flexible attitude regarding

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negotiation [would be] a step toward the solution of international tension."

While older liberal groups have said these things before, few gatherings in recent years have so emphatically declared their faith in the attainment of peace and a better future through political organization and community action.

BY KENT A. SMITHEMAN

Philadelphia

ON SEPTEMBER 12 more than 125 delegates to the Sixth Annual Convention of Students for Democratic Action gathered in the University of Pennsylvania's Houston Hall. The convention took a strong stand against Congressional witch-hunting, supported the New Deal–Fair Deal welfare-state policies, favored a strong civil-rights program, and tried to reconcile total diplomacy and collective security with negotiation and disarmament. To this observer, however, the real importance of the convention was that it presented, in microcosm, a picture of the three greatest weaknesses of post-war American liberalism.

The first is sectarianism, by which I mean the tendency of liberals to divide, right or left, on all issues, even very minor ones. Worse still, liberals tend to divide further on the basis of personalities and associations; so that we have liberals who will work with Communists, liberals who will not work with Communists but will work with those who work with Communists, liberals who will not work with Communists or with those who work with Communists but will work with those who work with those who work with Communists.

The second is negativism. Liberalism has provided no new ideas to capture the imagination and channel the constructive energies of the "silent generation." Having grown to maturity in the New Deal era, students are enamored of the idea of liberalism but have only the vaguest notion what it is. They fight for the New Deal all over again, seeking inspiration in songs and slogans appropriate to 1933 but not to 1953.

The third is the lack of inspiring leadership. The liberal leaders of the '30's have grown old and tired, and none have risen up to replace them.

GERMANY'S NEW "DRANG"

The War for Markets . . *by Terence Prittie*

Bonn

THE Adenauer regime has naturally interpreted its recent resounding victory at the polls as an indorsement of both its economic and its political policies. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics, journeys through the Federal Republic and beyond to international trade gatherings at Geneva and elsewhere, calling for more of what Bonn has long been promoting—"free enterprise," currency convertibility, reduction of tariffs and other trade blocks, and a government-aided export drive. The portly Erhard, with his red cheeks and outsize cigars, is just what the Germans need to give them back their self-confidence. He talks about the Adenauer government's past successes and great future plans; he praises industrialists and workers for the tremendous role they have played in the country's rejuvenation and tells them what remains to be done.

Erhard can draw upon a great quantity of encouraging statistics. For the first time since the war West Germany was able to declare a foreign-trade surplus in 1952, which was possibly the most remarkable feature of the post-war economic recovery. The surplus was the modest one of $180,000,000 on a total foreign-trade turn-over of around $8,200,000,000, but it was accompanied by other symptoms of economic health. Germany had become chief creditor in the European Payments Union, a device for "loosening" intra-European trade. Its dollar gap was being rapidly closed by the very considerable spending of the 130,000 American troops and civilian personnel stationed on German soil and would be entirely closed in 1953 when German firms got their fair share of orders under the American "offshore" purchasing program.

In 1952, moreover, the German gross national product rose 10 per cent; savings have increased 20 per cent in the past two years. The index of industrial production, which in 1948 was 63 per cent of the pre-war average, rose above 140 last year. West German currency has become one of the "hardest" in Europe; the D-mark was immediately quoted at a premium against the pound sterling when exchange rates were mildly "liberalized" a few months ago. The rise in the cost of living has been kept down to 6 per cent spread over the last three years.

The West Germans, however, have begun to raise questions which show that they are not entirely easy about their economic future. The *Deutsche Messe-Zeitung,* which covers the many trade fairs, recently called attention to the fact that the Federal Republic's share of world export trade in 1938 was 7.5 per cent, whereas in 1952 it was only 5.5 per cent. Finance Minister Dr. Schaeffer has asked the people to realize that the republic must now pay around $150,000,000 a year to service its foreign debt and almost as much to meet reparations to the state of Israel and to individual "victims of Nazism." A correspondent of the *Neue Zeitung* has warned that Germany's export trade is showing signs of weakness. The German share of world exports of machinery he said, was 27.5 per cent in 1938 but only 16 per cent last year, and the value of such exports was expected to drop from $900,000,000 in 1952 to less than $750,000,000 this year. Importers who had been "stocking up"—no doubt with an eye on the Korean war, the

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troubles in Southeast Asia, and the uncertain world situation—were not doing so to the same extent, and in the first months of 1953 orders for German goods began to lag behind production.

WHAT Germans fear is a reversal of the present world trend toward higher production and consumption. They do not expect the termination of the Korean war to lead to a world slump, but they believe that it may cause a sensible slackening of world rearmament and thus a period of economic disorganization. Germany in that case, they believe, would be especially hard hit. It would not get the United States' offshore orders, and it might lose some of its dollar income from American spending in Germany. Moreover, in any period of economic reorientation, capital tends to move less freely, and the prospect of attracting American and other foreign capital into the country would be at least temporarily lessened.

German insistence on the need to boost exports is therefore understandable. In their eagerness large West German firms are willing to fill comparatively small orders from abroad. They are catering, for example, to the market for artificial teeth in Portugal, for musical instruments in the Antipodes, for cuff links in Belgium, for accordions in Cyprus, for metal buckles for dresses in Switzerland.

Of course German exporters are making every effort to offer more attractive terms than their competitors—lower prices, quicker delivery, and easier credit. They appear to have been remarkably successful, owing largely, Erhard declares, to the government's economic policies and the German workers' industry and skill. "Other people work in order to live; the German lives in order to work" is an old saying. In Germany today even the unions have done nothing to discourage overtime. Building goes on every night by floodlight, and the average German business man is in his office by eight o'clock every morning and stays until seven at night.

The German government, for its part, has organized the provision of long-term and medium-term credit through the Reconstruction Credit Corporation. In addition, the Export Credit Institute has a fund of some $350,000,000 which it uses for the same purpose. German exporters who trade with the dollar area receive preferential allocation of raw materials, a bonus for export sales, and tax concessions. They may also import fixed amounts from the dollar area and even transfer this "right" to another company. A percentage of their profits, moreover, can be used for the purchase of an American car or radio set or a trip to the United States.

West Germany recently concluded a trade pact with Indonesia which is expected to result in an over-all trade turnover for 1953 of around $220,000,000. German firms have picked up some useful contracts in Spain and Egypt—German technicians are active in Egypt—and have put out feelers for development projects in Persia, Mexico, Brazil, Pakistan, and Turkey. It is clear that German firms are concentrating on the most worth-while markets while their foreign competitors are wasting much of their time maintaining old and possibly outworn connections. Britain, for

Ludwig Erhard

instance, is still clinging to textile contracts, though they have brought lamentably lower returns during the last year, while German exporters, with their eyes on undeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and South America, prefer to handle metal and engineering products.

In places the German export effort has been so successful that serious payments problems have arisen. The Brazilians have bought so many German automobiles that they have a trade deficit of more than $250,000,000 and cannot provide the goods to pay it off. This is not an isolated case. Germany has had similar difficulties with half a dozen other South American countries and with Turkey.

The diversion of German effort into the countries which, generally, pay the best dividends must be credited at least in part to one man—Hitler's former Minister of Finance, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. It is no coincidence that Dr. Schacht has visited Indonesia, Persia, Egypt, and Spain since the war. This year he launched a new bank in Düsseldorf, that most profitable preserve of big business, where he has been able to cash in on his good-will trips to undeveloped areas. The last big task he has set himself as a patriotic German is to find the best export markets for his country. The reports which he has furnished to the governments of Syria, Persia, Arabia, Indonesia, and Egypt are today part of West Germany's credit balance abroad.

AS MANY Germans realize, however, it is not enough that motor-car production last June was 14 per cent above the figure for June of the year before or that the government intends to build up the mercantile fleet to 3,500,000 tons by 1955. Sooner or later fundamental economic problems will have to be faced. Recently I asked a prominent citizen of Hamburg what the chief economic problem of his city was. He said it was a very simple one: Hamburg had been cut off from its trade with the countries of Central Europe and would not really prosper until at least part of this trade was reestablished. This man was a respected member of the executive of the Free Democratic Party and had no interest in developing friendship with the East through trade.

But Germans know that Eastern Europe was always the steadiest source of profits and have already organized an "Eastern Committee" for the purpose of increasing trade with the Soviet Union up to a minimum of $140,000,000 a year—last year's total was less than half a million dollars. The committee will also work for the resumption of trade relations with the satellite states. It wants to obtain oil, wheat, and basic minerals in exchange for the machinery and steel goods which Germany is finding more and more difficult to sell. The Eastern Committee is still only in its infancy, but it is destined to become a force in Central European politics, not because the Germans intend to "go behind" the provisions of the American

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Battle act but because they are convinced that the markets of the Western world must be supplemented.

Restoration of trade with Eastern Europe would cushion the effects of an economic recession. It would enable Germany to avoid the possible political consequences of competing too fiercely for traditional British or French export markets. It would further the delayed recovery of Berlin and after eventual reunification—in which every German believes—make it easier for the new Germany to recapture its old economic position in the heart of Europe.

AUTOMATION AND JOBS

The Effect on the Worker . . *by John Diebold*

IF "AUTOMATION" is fruitfully pursued, our industrial processes will be fundamentally changed. This much has been apparent for some time. The economic and social effects of building a wide variety of self-regulating machines to perform the tasks of both office and factory have yet to be examined.

By emphasizing the similarity between automatic-control systems, particularly computing machines, and the nervous systems of human beings and animals many writers have made the world of science fiction seem to be upon us and a race of man-like robots already in the making. No interpretation of the facts could be more distorted. Robots—machines which look and act like human beings—have long been the subject of speculation. Mary Shelley wrote "Frankenstein" in 1818; Paul Wagener made the film "Der Golem" in 1915; Karel Capek's play "R. U. R." (Rossum's Universal Robots) was first produced in Prague in 1921. At present the subject is enormously popular and is given an aura of reality by the pseudo-scientific language in which the tales are told.

But let us look at the facts. The solution of mathematical problems and other feats performed by computers do resemble the processes of human thought. But such resemblance does not warrant the conclusion that these machines think or are in any essential way human.

Our language has not yet developed words that correspond accurately with the new concepts. Even the word "computer" is hopelessly inadequate to describe what the machine is. Using the word "think" in the broadest sense, it can safely be asserted that we have no machine that "thinks." What a computer does is to count and to carry out logical processes through the basic process of counting. To call this thinking is as incorrect as to say that a typewriter has human characteristics because it can "write" this article.

DESCRIPTIONS of the new machines in human terms neglect one important fact. None of them have free will, one of the essential qualities of a human being, nor is there any indication that any machine with this quality could be developed. Pascal, who built one of the first calculating machines, recognized this fact and wrote in 1660: "The arithmetical machine produces effects which approach nearer to thought than all that animals do; but it does nothing which can cause it to be said that, like animals, it has will." None of the developments since his day modify that statement.

Building a machine that will correct its own errors in accordance with criteria predetermined and built in by human beings is very different from building an all-purpose robot. The new technology permits the development of more automatic machines than any we now possess, but such machines will perform only certain groups of industrial functions and will vary according to the work demanded of them. Automatic machines that take over functions now being performed by people will not be any more human than the electric eye that opens the door in Pennsylvania Station or the regulators monitoring the output of a continuous-flow plant.

Many of the scientists who have participated in the development of the new technology have emphasized its social meaning. But some of them have not recognized its place in the longer continuum of mechanization and have painted grim pictures of jobless and debased workers roaming the streets of a fully mechanized society, even receiving their relief checks from machines. This is because the use of the new technology in industry has not been made clear. It is meaningless to discuss the economic and social effects of "automation" without first determining how far and in what direction it will progress.

That fully automatic factories will not be workerless factories is shown by the few examples which already exist. There are atomic plants at Oak Ridge that are run by twenty or thirty girls, but these same plants require the services of hundreds of maintenance men. Design, engineering, sales, service, and management functions will all require people. These industrial functions will be enormously aided by automatic equipment but will not dispense with human labor. The same will be true of agriculture, mining, retailing, finance, publishing, which together employ by far the largest portion of the work force.

"Automation" must be viewed in proper historical perspective as a new chapter in the continuing story of man's conquest and organization of the forces of nature. While it raises new problems, it solves some of those raised by earlier phases of mechanization. We have a considerable body of experience to guide us in determining the most probable

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JOHN DIEBOLD is the author of "Automation—the Advent of the Automatic Factory." This is the last of three articles on the "new industrial revolution."

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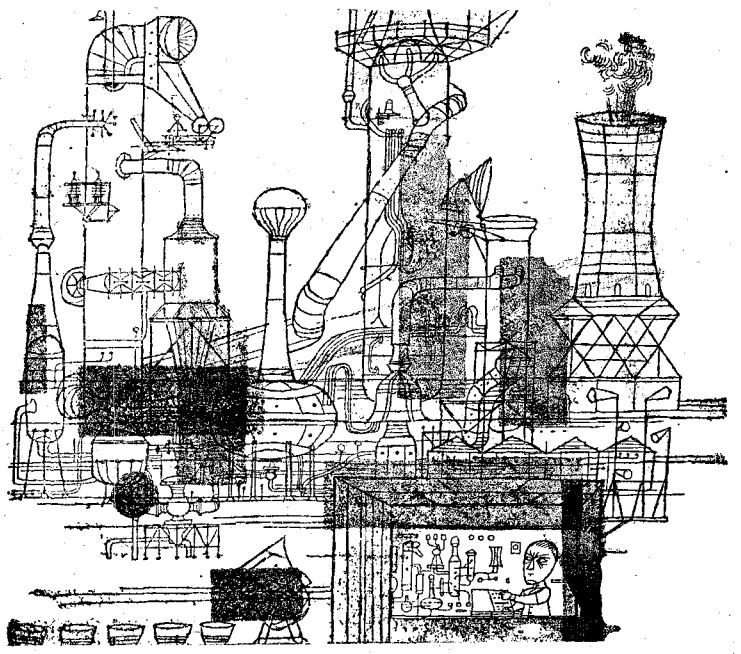
economic and social effects of "automation." To be sure, "automation" has special characteristics that will effect unique changes, but it is not a departure from all that has gone before.

PERHAPS the most vehement objection to any form of mechanization is the charge that it debases the worker, that the craftsman's skills which give stability and meaning to his life are superseded by machinery that deprives him of the opportunity to make his own creative contribution. The protests of the Luddites that the steam age would be the end of our civilization continue in varying form today. But when the condition of labor in today's mechanized plants is contrasted with the condition of labor in the past, the burden of proof is surely thrown upon those who decry modern industrial development. In "Work and Wealth" the English economist J. A. Hobson wrote in 1933: "There has never been an age or a country where the great bulk of labor was not toilsome, painful, monotonous, and uninteresting, often degrading in its conditions. Bad as things are when regarded from the standpoint of the human ideal, they are better for the majority of workers in this and in other advanced industrial countries than ever in the past, so far as we can reconstruct and understand the past." Hobson's statement should serve as a benchmark from which realistic discussion can proceed.

Yet although the Luddites and their modern counterparts have been proved wrong, there is some truth in the assertion that the way we organize production in our factories often subordinates the human being to the machine. The tendency of the age is to mechanize, systematize, and regiment factory work and factory workers—this situation was satirized by René Clair in "A Nous la Liberté" (1931) and by Charlie Chaplin in "Modern Times" (1936). Many of man's problems today are the result of the attempt to adjust the worker to the machine that paces him and, in a broader way, of the mechanistic concepts of the function of workers in mass production.

It is not necessary to look any farther than the role of a machine operator in a factory. To a large extent, although this differs markedly from industry to industry and from plant to plant, the work of the laborer is subordinate to that of the machine. Operators start and stop the machine; they put work into it and remove the product; they watch for breakdowns. In other words, they tend the machines while the machines perform the vital fabricating function. In addition, and particularly on the assembly line, even where the machines are set slower than the average worker, the operators are likely to *feel* paced by them. At best this is not desirable.

But to the vital question: will "automation" aggravate this situation? the answer is no. Although "automation" will assuredly bring its own problems, it promises to eliminate the subordination of the worker to the machine.



Joseph Low in the *Scientific American*

In the factory of the future, control mechanisms will monitor the operation; automatic material-handling devices will load the work into the machine and remove it when completed; instruments more acute than our own sense organs will warn the control system of trouble, and the machine will correct trouble that arises in routine operation. What this means is that to a great extent the jobs in which the worker is tied to and paced by the machine will be taken over by other machines. The worker will be released for tasks permitting the exercise of his human capacities.

AS LESS HUMAN effort must be expended upon production, the function of leisure in our lives will become of greater importance. It will then be necessary for us to face the question: Are we capable of developing a culture that does not depend upon work to give meaning to our lives? The urgency of the question will depend upon the rate at which the new industrial technology advances, upon whether we have an all-out war, and upon the extent and duration of the cold-war armament program. The greater the proportion of production for military rather than civilian uses, the less pressing will be the problem of leisure. In any case it is not likely to become acute very soon. The change will be gradual and will permit time for adjustment.

The arguments advanced for a shorter work week have usually been that the worker becomes more efficient when he works fewer hours. This is undoubtedly true, and many of the changes of the last fifty years have been no more than the provision of adequate rest periods. Even as late as 1923 certain jobs in the steel industry required twelve hours a day, seven days a week. A change from this to a forty-hour week is primarily a change which makes for more effective performance on the job. But is further shortening of the work week necessary for effective performance?

More and more the question is raised: Can we as a people learn to utilize leisure as something more than a respite during which we overcome the effects of work and prepare ourselves for additional work? This is one of the basic problems of our day. It is one which "automation" accentuates but did not create.

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BOOKS

Narayan of India

By Roland E. Wolseley

R. K. NARAYAN, one of India's English-language novelists and short-story writers of consequence, who has just been introduced to American readers, has won admiration and respect in Europe but comparatively little attention in his own country.

Just before going to Mysore City in southern India to see Narayan, I stopped at one of the largest English-language bookstores in Bangalore, a city of 750,000, about sixty miles from Mysore in the same province. I asked for some of Narayan's novels, in preparation for an interview with him. His new book "The Financial Expert," recently issued in the United States, had just been published in England and put on sale in India, but there was not a Narayan book in the shop, one of a chain.

"All sold out?"

"No," the manager said; "we have so few calls we do not stock his books."

"But Mr. Narayan is one of India's own novelists. He lives nearby in Mysore City. You display all these new British and American novels, why not his new one?"

The manager was indifferent. "Yes, I know, but we do not read much fiction here in India," he said.

From what the bookstores, railway stalls, and curbstone displays show the public, it is evident that he is right only in part, for the Indians buy American and British novels and short stories as readily as any other people. But it is true that India's own writers are neglected. Mulk Raj Anand, Babani Bhattacharya, whose "Music for Mohini" appeared in the United States last year, and Narayan are the leading Indian writers in English but they must depend upon Europe for recognition equal to their talent.

I asked Narayan for his explanation of this situation. "Frankly," he replied, "there is no publishing business worth mentioning in India. A few enterprising publishers started with hope but have received little material support, public or private. Writing has to be a part-time job in most cases; so a publisher cannot expect steady industry on the part of his writers." He could have added that not more than 15 per cent of the people of India are literate and that only 2 per cent of these are capable of using English.

Narayan is resigned to his relative obscurity in his own country, in part because he has been received so warmly in England, where all his novels and collections of short stories have been published and widely praised. Graham Greene has been one of the most enthusiastic admirers of his work. "I owe my literary career to Graham Greene's interest in my work," he told me. "He has encouraged me for nearly twenty years now, although we have never met. I consider Graham not only the finest writer but also the finest and most perfect friend a man can have in this world."

Narayan inspires friendship. I met him at the new house overlooking Mysore City that he rented to Dr. Henry Hart, a visiting Fulbright professor from the University of Wisconsin serving on the faculty of the University of Mysore during 1952-53. He came to Professor and Mrs. Hart's home in a gray jacket, a short version of the dignified Indian *sherwani* worn by men of position, gray trousers, and black shoes. His gentleness impressed the Americans who had assembled to meet him but was belied by his lively brown eyes. He is a slight, trim man of forty-five with aquiline features, gracious, modest, and professorial in manner. He drew on his experience as a teacher in his somewhat tragic novel, "The English Teacher," his favorite because it is more personal than the others.

Born in Madras, Narayan attended a Mysore high school of which his father was headmaster, and then went to the University of Mysore. His wife is dead, and he is devoted to his sixteen-year-old daughter, Hema; they live with his mother and brothers in the joint family arrangement so common in India still.

His first book, "Swami and Friends," was published in 1935 in England by Hamish Hamilton. Like most of the five novels and three collections of short stories that followed, it is about the lives of typical South Indian people:

R. K. Narayan

there is not a snake-charmer prominent in the lot. Eyre and Spottiswoode of London published "The Bachelor of Arts" two years later; it was reprinted in 1949 and became a British Pocket Book in 1951; next year it is to be published in the United States. "The Dark Room" followed from Macmillan in 1938; "The English Teacher" appeared in 1945, "Mr. Sampath" in 1949, "The Financial Expert" last year, and in between came three collections of short stories. Most of the tales, which have wide variety of subject and method, appeared first in the *Hindu,* India's outstanding English-language daily. A few of these books were published in India also by a small Mysore firm. Reviews there have been enthusiastic but not uncritical. A new novel, now in progress, is about a dissolute character who is influenced by the life of Gandhi, a subject which possibly will bring him for the first time into close touch with India's national problems. Narayan is

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ROLAND E. WOLSELEY, professor of journalism at Syracuse University, has just returned from fourteen months in India. He was a Fulbright lecturer at Nagpur University and set up a department of journalism for one of the affiliated colleges.

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known for his interest in personal rather than social problems.

What can American readers expect when Narayan's books appear? The novels will be issued regularly now, since the Michigan State University Press, which on October 15 is bringing out "The English Teacher" under the title "Grateful to Life and Death," plans to publish one old and one new Narayan work each year. Readers will find the writing artistic, quiet in tone and with a flowing rhythm. The plots are slender, based on middle-class Indian life in a mythical community near Madras. Both setting and characters, Narayan said, started from real places and persons but developed characteristics of their own. His subjects are the difficulties and pleasures of life under Indian marriage customs, business methods, and the educational system. "Mr. Sampath" is almost a pure satire on Indian journalism and the film industry.

"The most recurring theme," Narayan said in answer to a question about the favorite themes of India's novelists, "has been the suffering of the individual under social and political injustices. Some have chosen romantic-historical subjects, and a few have reminisced charmingly about their community or village."

Which themes have been neglected? "I fear that the rich subjective life of an individual against the background of that unique institution, the joint family system, is a subject that has not been properly tackled," he replied. "There is wonderful material here, whether the setting be the earlier political struggle or the present-day political achievement." He admitted, however, that he had not yet read Bhattacharya's "Music for Mohini," which deals with this theme.

I ASKED Narayan about his writing methods. His answer applied only to his fiction, his weekly personal essay for the Sunday edition of the *Hindu* being produced more casually. "I can write best when I do not plan the subject too elaborately," he explained. "All my novels have been written in this manner. All I can settle for myself is my protagonist's general type of personality—my focus is all on character. If his personality comes alive, the rest is easy for me: background and minor characters develop as I progress." He elaborated later in a letter: "Each day I sit down to write, I feel curious about what may be coming out; only when the pen is actually running on am I able to think with precision. It probably means that I have to give my subconscious self a lot of freedom to work itself out. I try never to strain myself or force the pace."

Interest in method is strong among Indian writers, who have none of the aids of American authors—coaches, writers' conferences, textbooks, courses. That interest may explain at least in part Narayan's standing and the limited output of other talented men, like Raja Rao and Subhin Ghose, who have published only two books each. Although he tries to avoid all literary influences, Narayan's concentration on technique has led him in his time to study closely five authors, two of them Americans: Somerset Maugham, Graham Greene, François Mauriac, Sinclair Lewis, and John Steinbeck. He was especially impressed, he says, with "The Grapes of Wrath" and "Tortilla Flat," which he calls "desirable patterns."

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New Books in Brief

Lost "Horizons"

IDEAS AND PLACES. By Cyril Connolly. Harper. $3.50.

Few places and even fewer ideas are represented in this collection of *Horizon* editorials and articles, but those few are tenaciously held to and most eloquently affirmed. The places are chiefly Paris and selected parts of France; the ideas revolve around the autonomy and desperate importance of art and the artist. Connolly's gamut runs from an ingratiating humility, as when he offers *Horizon's* support in a cause "with all the force of its rubber dagger," through vituperation of those "sphincter-mouthed pinheads" the reviewers, to apocalyptic visions of atomic death, with everyone exploded into brown dust "like a rotten puffball."

He is sometimes over simple, assigning the Germans a "mass inferiority complex," and sometimes naive, suggesting that "even the general public can send fruit and eggs" to writers, but he is always interesting and, with his defiance increasing in proportion as prospects for his cultural values appear more bleak, rather admirable. Three of the best things in the book represent Connolly as editor rather than writer and will probably be remembered from *Horizon*—the chilling symposium on the income of contemporary British writers, the Alice in Wonderland documents of the Zhdanov controversy, and Stendhal's outrageous wish-fulfilment fantasy, "The Privileges of 10 April, 1840." If Connolly had had even a few of the magical privileges Stendhal impudently claimed for himself, the *Horizon* this volume memorializes would still be thriving today.

Two Good Men

TWO STUDIES IN VIRTUE. By Christopher Sykes. Knopf. $4.

The Victorians continue to fascinate English writers although Lytton Stracheyism has gone out of style. The aim now is not to debunk but to understand an age that in retrospect shows a surface calm and security but was in fact troubled by deep spiritual conflicts. Thus in the first of these studies Christopher Sykes, a writer of great ability who brings sympathetic imagination to bear on scholarship, illuminates the fierce controversies within the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, and between them, that loomed so large in English life a century ago. His protagonist, Richard Sipthorp, was both symbol and victim of these doctrinal disputes. Ordained in the Church of England, in the course of a sincere search for the true faith he was converted to Roman Catholicism, reconverted, and converted again.

Mr. Sykes's second study is of his father, Sir Mark Sykes, one of the small but stalwart band of "Gentile Zionists" who as a minor British minister played an important part in the negotiations leading up to the Balfour Declaration. Here we have an objective but vivid account of the origins of Zionism and of the way in which its leaders seized their opportunity during World War I. However, as a study in personality this essay does not altogether succeed. Amid a wealth of historical detail the portrait of Sir Mark, a charming and unusual man, never gets into sharp focus.

Quite a Soldier

SHERIDAN THE INEVITABLE. By Richard O'Connor. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50.

General Phil Sheridan has had his ups and his downs since the Civil War ended. He was originally hailed as one of the two or three great military geniuses which the Union cause had brought forth, and every schoolboy had to read and on occasion declaim the doggerel which celebrated his ride to the Battle of Winchester. Then, as years passed, Sheridan went into an eclipse, until at last the tendency was to dismiss him as a hard slugger who succeeded only because he had every advantage of numbers and equipment.

The real truth apparently lies halfway between, and Mr. O'Connor takes a new look at the man in this engaging biography. He finds in Sheridan what anyone can see, once the froth of contemporary adulation is brushed away—a simple and uncomplicated man possessed of a driv-

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ing combativeness and some very definite qualities of leadership.

In addition, he sees what is often overlooked—a young Irishman who came to the top at a time when the nation suffered from a great over-dose of the essential spirit of Ku Kluxism. The war not only started the colored man out from under the bottom of the heap; it also broadened the horizon for a great many other folk who in the democracy of the old days were badly underprivileged. Sheridan may have been no great thinker, but he saw that certain deep human values were bound up in the war he was fighting.

And of course he was quite a soldier. If he does not exactly belong on the pinnacle where the enthusiasm of 1865 placed him, he was a genuine top-notcher, and Mr. O'Connor has given his story a good retelling.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE end of summer brings recollections of shows seen in pleasant villages, of juries hopeful of accord, and of local versus imported opinion. Having served a tour of jury duty and having witnessed public reaction, temperate and intemperate, to the choices of an astonishingly unanimous panel, I take this opportunity to develop a few thoughts on these and related matters.

People seriously interested in painting are caught in a crossfire of opposing propagandists. They should realize this and prepare for the worst, for an honest expression of opinion will too seldom be considered on its own grounds. We are told both that representational art is outmoded and that nothing else is valid, that abstract art is the only contemporary art and that it is subversive, that abstract art is academic now and that a new humanism is or ought to be aborning. We are told that democracy in art means equality of opportunity to all artists, and also that it means that everybody can paint and that everyone's opinion is of equal value. We witness juries of compromise whose decisions record few of the decisions of the individual jurors. We witness double juries, each selected to represent a certain point of view. Public-opinion polls are held at exhibitions, and more attention is paid to them than to the decisions of supposedly informed juries.

Rarely, however, do we encounter acceptance of the idea that all contemporary painting should and can be judged according to the single standard of its power to move us and to enrich our lives. To this standard three corollary conditions may be attached. First, has the spectator looked at the painting or merely used it as he would a mirror? Second, has he had a sufficiently wide exposure to the history of painting to be reasonably certain that the given expression is unique and that it has not been projected more forcefully elsewhere? Third, does the experience communicated by the painting have its roots deep in contemporary life? If it were possible to eliminate or at least to minimize certain widely prevalent notions a moderate degree of accord could be reached and opinion would become less a matter of psychology and more a matter of validity and relevance. These notions might be described as the belief that painting aims to evoke agreeable, or painful, memories, that painting does not need to be original, and that it makes no difference when or where the picture was painted.

WHILE it is easy to criticize the bigotry of reaction, one should be equally ready to criticize the bigotry of counter-reaction. Two articles in recent issues of the *Partisan Review* provide interesting cases in point, particularly if one adds to them the statement published last spring by forty-eight well-assorted artists in a journal called, with a show of sublime assurance, *Reality*. This statement is, I think, a reactionary exposé of samples of counter-reactionary bigotry. Those who care about keeping contemporary issues unclouded should ponder well the cumulative effect of unintelligibility presented in *Reality* by the selected examples of propaganda for non-objective painting. I do not regard any of the forty-eight signers of this document as a major artist, but there are some good painters among them, and, more important, they make their point.

One should be clear, however, that the point they make is about bad contemporary criticism, and that they make

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no point whatever about the art they are attacking. Herein lies the value of Leo Steinberg's article, The Eye Is a Part of the Mind, in the *Partisan Review* for March-April. Brilliantly reasoned and richly documented, it argues that "modern art has not, after all, abandoned the imitation of nature, and that, in its most powerful expressions, representation is still an essential condition, not an expendable freight." Steinberg's essay is the most concise, intelligible, and profound description I have yet read of the kind of reality which the most advanced non-objective painting transforms into content. It is the best answer I know to the charges against such art made in the name of reality.

TO TURN from this analysis to Hilton Kramer's The New American Painting, in the July-August issue of the same magazine, is to descend once again to the level of propaganda, this time reactionary. I should have thought that the editors would have considered Kramer's attack already demolished by Steinberg's article. I find his charges of immodesty on the part of Hans Hofmann altogether unwarranted. Three years ago Hofmann published a small book, "Search for the Real," in connection with a large retrospective exhibition of his work at the Addison Gallery in Andover. One or two excerpts may be cited as typical of Hofmann's point of view. "Artistic intuition is the basis for confidence of the spirit. Art is a reflection of the spirit, a result of introspection, which finds expression in the art medium." And "artistic expression and appreciation is necessary to complete, balanced life, and must be an integral part of any enduring national or racial culture."

It is possible to disagree on the value of Hofmann as an artist—and I do most emphatically disagree with Kramer on this point—but it is hardly useful to disagree on the value of Hofmann as a man. For it is clear that in his view, as in Steinberg's, the eye is a part of the mind.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE points of interest on the stage at the moment are on the geographical periphery rather than in the thick of the theatrical district. Even "Oklahoma" is now "off Broadway" (at the City Center), and though its present production lacks freshness—it suffers particularly for want of top-grade dance personalities—the tunes and lyrics hold up remarkably well.

But for originality and spark one must turn or travel to the Barbizon-Plaza Theater to see "The World of Sholom Aleichem" or to the Théâtre de Lys on Christopher Street to see "End as a Man," a dramatization by Calder Willingham of his own similarly titled novel. Both provide worth-while evenings in the theater, though for purposes of review one is bound to think of them in terms of sharp contrast. The first is all gentle smiles and kindness; the second, harsh laughter and brutality.

"The World of Sholom Aleichem" is well named even though one of the pieces on the program is a stage version of a famous tale by another illustrious Jewish writer, I. L. Peretz. For what these brief theater narrations reflect is indeed a world—the colorful, savory, sad, enchanting, and meaningful world of the Russo-Polish ghetto in the late nineteenth century. It was a world that bred poverty, fear, sorrow, faith, and talent. It was a world of innocent fools along with men and women shrewd in the ways of life, not to mention inspired and humble saints. It was the native soil of a great literary birth—the amazingly gifted men whose language was Yiddish—and the source of creative genius for many painters, musicians, scholars, and leaders the world over.

What is most striking about the work of Sholom Aleichem and Peretz is the comprehensiveness of their feeling and the simplicity of their expression. None of the stories that the adapter, Arnold Perl, and the actors and producers have chosen to recount in "The World of Sholom Aleichem" are "great" in any idiotic university sense; they are almost

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The production is in tune with the material. The musical score bathes the evening in an unoppressively nostalgic mood; the costumes, lighting, and whole plan of the proceedings reflect credit on the intelligence of the director, Howard da Silva. The acting is more than satisfactory. Jack Gilford's silent mask in Peretz's story of the mutely suffering village derelict, Will Lee's darling imbecile, teacher in the Community of Fools (those who were impressed with Barrault's pantomime in "The Trial" will probably fail to notice Will Lee's more imaginative as well as more appropriate pantomime here), Morris Carnovsky's henpecked, harassed, and charming middle-class father are themselves enough to make the evening rewarding.

"END AS A MAN" is a picture of a military academy in the South. Some people will complain that it goes to pieces in the second act, even though it seems to pull itself together in the third. This is only true if you expect or desire that everything produced in the theater conform to certain conventional dramatic patterns. The first act introduces the central figure, the academy's chief bully, together with his victims and sundry other fauna of the school. The second presents them in the detail of their behavior. The third act discloses the punishment that is meted out to the most culpable and states what may be the moral of the piece.

But the play can hardly be said to have a moral; it is chiefly characterization and a feeling. The feeling is probably one of resentment; it is undeniably bitter. This is both the virtue and the defect of the play. Its best scene is the one in which the sharp-witted school demon guys and baits an oafish companion —a scene which leads to an episode of cheating, torment, and beating. All this has a violence that is not easy to take—but the essence of the play is here. It is not psychological, for we are never clear—nor does the author attempt to suggest—why his perverse protagonist is what he is; the scene is descriptive. It is fact. It happens, has happened. It is significant as a recognizable ingredient of our life.

I do not believe the play is an indictment of the military mind or of military schools. One cannot generalize from the given data. One can only say that the data are convincing though depressing. It is the ending that is perfunctory as story and morally disturbing. When the head of the school, a general of the United States army, tells the student council that for all its faults the academy does provide a training that makes the recruit "end as a man," we are not at all certain whether the author is clearing his play of any subversive implications or is being ironic and hopes subtly to suggest that the training ends the recruit as a man.

There is something sadistic in the essence as well as in the material of this play. It is not wilfully so: one gets sadism in writing when unmotivated evil is presented, divorced from other more universally congenial attributes. The fine writer makes even the most villainous action arise from facets of social and personal psychology in which all of us share. The malefactor and the hero in art are equally part of every member of the audience. Yet there is truth in this play: a certain savage humor and, most welcome, a response to experience.

The acting helps enormously. There are three brilliant debuts or near debuts —by Ben Gazzara as the bad 'un, by Paul Richards as a somewhat homosexual and quite engagingly bright boy, and by Albert Salmi in perhaps the best-written part of the play, the oafish victim of his comrades' ferocity. The director, Jack Garfein, has shaped an excellent ensemble.

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COLUMBIA'S celebration of Bruno Walter's seventy-seventh birthday is the release of three records—one with Mozart's G minor and "Haffner" Symphonies, in which he conducts the New York Philharmonic; one with soprano arias from Mozart's operas, in which he conducts a recording orchestra for Eleanor Steber; and one with baritone and bass arias from "The Marriage of Figaro" and three Mozart concert arias, in which he conducts a recording orchestra for George London. Steber's voice, phrasing, and style again add up to some of the greatest singing there is to be heard today; and I will have to wait until I get back to New York to find out whether an occasional shrillness in high notes is her voice or my summer phonograph. London's singing is very fine—its one deficiency being the lack of the anger and irony that should be heard in *Se vuol ballare*. And the orchestral frameworks and comments make it clear that Walter is at his best nowadays when he conducts Mozart opera. Further evidence of this is the performances of the symphonies, which recall Toscanini's remark years ago that when Walter comes to something beautiful he melts; and in addition to the melting in the slow movements there is an occasional rhetorical expansion—for example, in measure 210 of the first movement of the G minor—that is not to my taste.

In his performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony with the Royal Philharmonic (Columbia) Beecham takes the scherzo movement in one of his excessively slow tempos that only the Beecham cultists will find acceptable; and the other movements have for me none of the continuity of shape, tension, and force that his performances used to have (and still have when I listen to the old recordings again to find out whether it is he who has changed or I). And I don't like the tone of his solo oboe.

As for Mengelberg—whose performance of Bach's St. Matthew Passion in the Amsterdam Concertgebouw on Palm Sunday, 1939, recorded at the time, has been issued by Columbia—it is unquestionably I who have changed; and I blush to think that this inability to let a phrase of a chorus, an aria, or even a simple chorale take its course without a distention of tempo and sonority once seemed to me the highest musicianship. Now it seems to me to achieve sheer absurdity. The singers, chorus, and orchestra that are misused in this absurd way are excellent; and on my summer machine the performance is reproduced clearly and agreeably.

Copland's engaging suite from his score for Martha Graham's "Appalachian Spring" is on a Urania record with Piston's suite from his score for "The Invisible Flutist." This is the first time I have heard the Piston music; and it is the first music of his that I have enjoyed. The performances of the Radio Berlin Symphony under Rother seem good.

In the remaining space let me say something about an older recording. I had an opportunity for the first time to listen to Berlioz's Requiem with the full score, which enabled me to become aware of details that hadn't come through clearly from the recorded sound or my ear hadn't caught. The result was a new revelation of the extraordinary qualities of the music, and the extraordinary artistic powers—of musical invention, imagination, and taste—that one hears operating in the contriving of the Offertorium, the Lacrymosa, the Quaerens me, among others. I can mention only one example: one reads always about the four additional brass bands in the Tuba mirum, never about their use—with such discretion and taste that I hadn't known of it until the score revealed it this time—in the Lacrymosa, when the opening section with its wonderful melody in nine-eighth time returns, and in each measure the third group of three eighths is punctuated by a note or chord from one after another of the four brass bands—the effect of these cries of the brass being indescribable. With the successive repetitions of the melody the punctuating chords are fuller and reinforced with drum-rolls; and at the climax the brass join in a tremendous unison proclamation of the melody by the chorus and orchestra.

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FREDA KIRCHWEY,
Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1953.

[Seal]

GEORGE F. BRANDON,
Notary Public.

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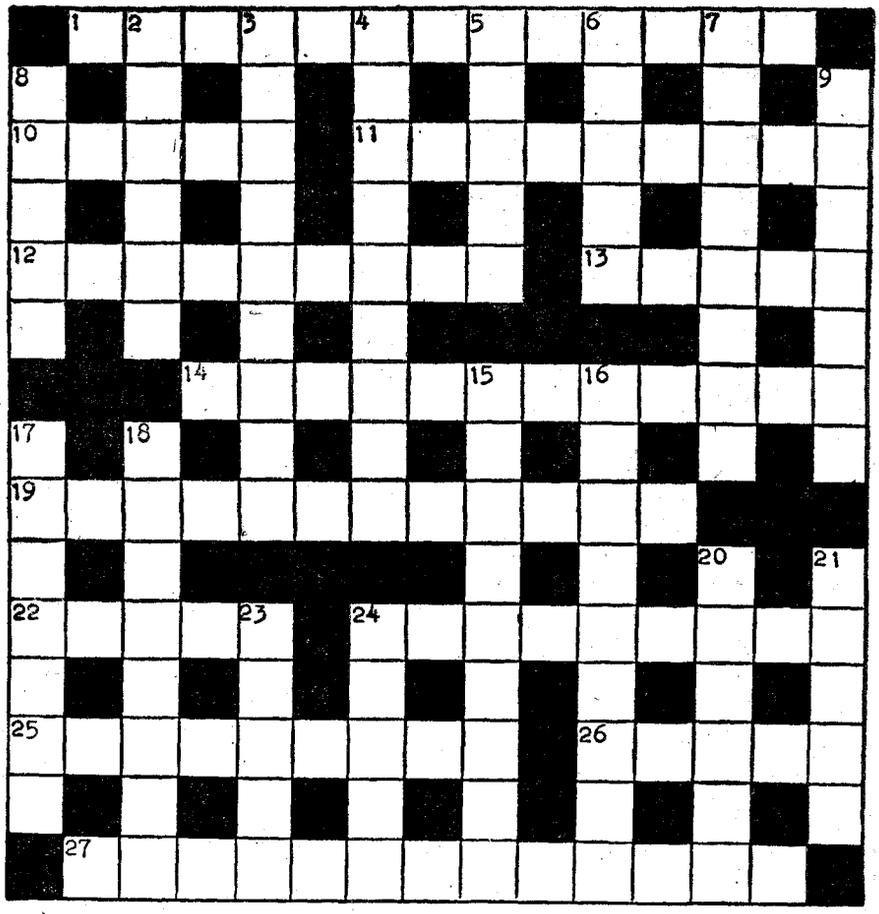
Crossword Puzzle No. 535

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Randell's ghost might be responsible for a certain lack of inspiration. (8, 5)
10 This, with civilian clothing, should fit an Arab head. (5)
11 One can't miss this geographical area if one's in another country. (9)
12 Hack work. (9)
13 Current writing subject to revision. (5)
14 Music sounds like Der Fuehrer! (6, 6)
19 Such affection shouldn't be limited to women! (12)
22 Check! (It's made of crushed rock.) (5)
24 White rose, or else this. (9)
25 Lincoln said there is none that is a fit object of redress by mob law. (9)
26 Nothing new to the burglar, bookmaker, and bookkeeper. (5)
27. One of these might be a little Irish, but not very important. (5, 8)

DOWN

2 One might say its art has certain characteristics. (6)
3 Invariably shown by an Arabian dromedary. (9)
4 This bird suggests somewhat less than guile with the word of a Frenchman. (9)
5 Obviously a "down" clue! (5)
6 Possessed by the wrong English heathen god? (5)
7 Are they dismissed when they get out of hand? (8)
8 See 20 down
9 Charged, probably, with unlawful attack? (7)
15 This territory was organized in 1787. (9)
16 Rather egostistical statement made when tense? (9)
17 A poor specimen or substitute. (7)
18 Is it largely elemental? (8)
20 and 8 Was she responsible for the Exposition being a somewhat shaky enterprise? (6, 5)
21 Emerald or aquamarine. (5)
23 It's mean, if you've heaved over a pound. (5)
24 At least one admission implied, if someone does. (3, 2)

• ✤ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 534

ACROSS:—1 MISHEARD; 5 TENSOR; 10 LYMPH; 11 PUBLICANS; 12 SUBDUES; 13 ALMONER; 14 SEETHE; 15 NOSTRUM; 18 EXEMPTS; 24 RESERVE; 26 ADVANCE; 27 FEATHERED; 28 LAIUS; 29 STEADY; 30 FOURTEEN.

DOWN:—1 MULISH; 2 SEMIBREVE; 3 EXHAUST; 4 RIPOSTE; 6 ENIGMAS; 7 SWAIN; 8 ROSTRUMS; 9 OBTAIN; 16 RECONCILE; 17 REDRAFTS; 19 PERCHED; 20 STEERS; 21 and 23 STAND TO REASON; 22 REVELER; 25 and 21 ACROSS STAGE-STRUCK.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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Dear Independent Voter:

Let me say frankly at the outset of this long but vitally important letter that our candidate Clifford T. McAvoy, will not win the 1953 New York City election.

WHY THEN SHOULD YOU VOTE FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CANDIDATE?

The history of American politics shows that *every* advance in the people's behalf was put forward first by independent minority political groups who organized to win these advances. This was true of the abolition of slavery, of our free public schools, of our social security laws, of public housing, of anti-discrimination legislation.

A recent example of the way in which a strong minority fight for decency and equality forced the major parties to recognize the people's demands is the fact that **this year every party finally nominated a Negro candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. This was the direct consequence of the American Labor Party's nomination of a Negro leader for that position in 1949—the first such nomination in the history of New York State.**

Everyone admits that our city is in an appalling situation both morally and financially.

Morally what can be expected of Dewey's candidate Mr. Riegelman, of Carmine de Sapio's candidate Mr. Wagner, or of a pseudo-independent candidate like Mr. Halley who pretends to have fought against the Transit Authority steal while the chairman of his own party, A. A. Berle, publicly says: "Halley would have gone along with it if his vote had been necessary. I talked it over with him and we agreed that if his vote was needed, if it was that or having the whole thing go into a tailspin, he would vote for it but he would not vote for it unless he had do. What he was saying is that this was a bad job and since his vote was not needed to pass it, he could afford to vote against it and did."

Financially Mr. Halley proposes a 50-million-dollar budget cut in hospitals, welfare, and other essential city services. Mr. Wagner proposes a payroll tax to pick the pocket of every New Yorker who works for a living. Mr. Riegelman offers the alternative of a 70-million-dollar budget cut. Only Mr. McAvoy, candidate of the American Labor Party, has a realistic, progressive solution to offer.

Our proposal is a stock transfer tax, an equitable return to the city of tax money collected here by the state and, most important of all, an honest assessment of big commercial and industrial real estate.

New York City is being cheated out of OVER A HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS ANNUALLY by the openly dishonest assessment of big real estate at LESS than the depression values of 1932. For example, the *New York Stock Exchange Building* was assessed at $22,750,000 in 1932 and today it pays taxes on an assessment of only $17,000,000. 40 *Wall Street* had a 1932 assessment of $26,250,000 and has a $19,000,000 assessment today. *R. H. Macy* was reduced from an assessment of $27,250,000 in 1932 to one of $23,500,000 in 1953.

The newspapers and radio networks which are dominated by the big realty interests, as are the candidates of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal Parties, never mention this simple means of raising enough additional revenue to cancel the so-called subway operating deficit and to add greatly needed health, welfare and educational services. You yourself must have noted the total blackout of our program in the entire press. Only *The National Guardian* has consistently and honestly reported Mr. McAvoy's specific proposals and the concrete accomplishments of the American Labor Party in its fight for democratic representation.

We have no money for television or radio programs or ads in the big city dailies. But we know that there are tens of thousands of independent voters in New York City who would vote for the American Labor Party if they knew our program and had an opportunity to examine the facts about Halley's and Wagner's duplicity in their pretense of opposition to the Transit Authority Steal and the fare increase.

We are therefore appealing to you—the teachers, the professional men and women, the serious independent people who read *The Nation*—to examine the issues, to make up your own minds with a full knowledge of the facts, and then to assume the responsibility of convincing your friends and associates to vote for our practical, honest and progressive program by voting for Clifford T. McAvoy on Row D. **We hope you will write or call our office—17 Murray Street, WOrth 4-8153—for facts sheets with the specific official figures of the present real estate underassessments, for the full text of A. A. Berle's public admission of Mr. Halley's hypocrisy, for the detailed account of Mr. Wagner's anti-labor record.**

This year no false issue of a lesser evil stands between the progressive voter and his real choice. We are convinced that you can secure the additional 100,000 votes which will force the incoming New York City administration a step nearer to decent government.

VITO MARCANTONIO,
State Chairman American Labor Party

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